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EAST TIMOR

A CALL FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

The "New World Order" sounds pretty hollow to the people of East Timor, victims of a genocidal invasion too long ignored by the world. Now, Canadians are raising their voices to call for peace and justice for East Timor. You can help by signing this open letter.

You either believe in freedom or you don't.

In 1975, just ten days after gaining its independence from Portugal, the southeast Asian island of East Timor was invaded by neighbouring Indonesia. As soon as the Indonesian soldiers arrived, they began slaughtering the inhabitants. Since then, 250 000 people, over a third of the population, have lost their lives.

When Iraq invaded tiny Kuwait, Canada joined the world in outrage, and even sent troops to reverse the invasion. East Timor got no such support.

For reasons we don't completely understand, the Canadian government supported Indonesia at the United Nations and in the marketplace, and has even sold arms to Indonesia's military regime. Sixteen years later, the Indonesian army continues to occupy East Timor. We think the Canadian government should end its support.

The Canadian government says East Timor will never be free. It says that after sixteen years, the people and the land belong to Indonesia. We believe people belong to themselves and the land belongs to those who live on it.

We ask all Canadians to join us in telling the Canadian government to

- Support the United Nations position that East Timor must allowed to choose its own future, not continue as an Indonesian colony
- Support the call for peace talks, without any preconditions, between Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance
- Ban the sale of military equipment to Indonesia

Elaine Briere

The East Timor Alert Network invites all groups and individuals to sign this open letter. All endorsements must be received no later than **December 10, 1991** (International Human Rights Day). The open letter will appear as a full-page ad in *Saturday Night* magazine. We ask that groups contribute $200 and individuals $50 towards the cost of publishing the ad. However, inability to pay the full amount will not exclude your name from appearing among the signatories. **Tax-deductible donations can be made to the Canadian Council of Churches**, other cheques should be made out directly to the East Timor Alert Network. In either case, send to theETAN contact nearest you.

For Western Canada: 104—2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2. tel (604) 264-9973.
For Ontario and Atlantic provinces: PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1, tel (416) 531-6154.
For Québec: 1375 Sherwood Cres., Town of Mount Royal, H3R 3C8, tel (514) 933-6695.

Thank you for joining the call for peace and justicefor East Timor.

What you can do to end the genocide in Timor

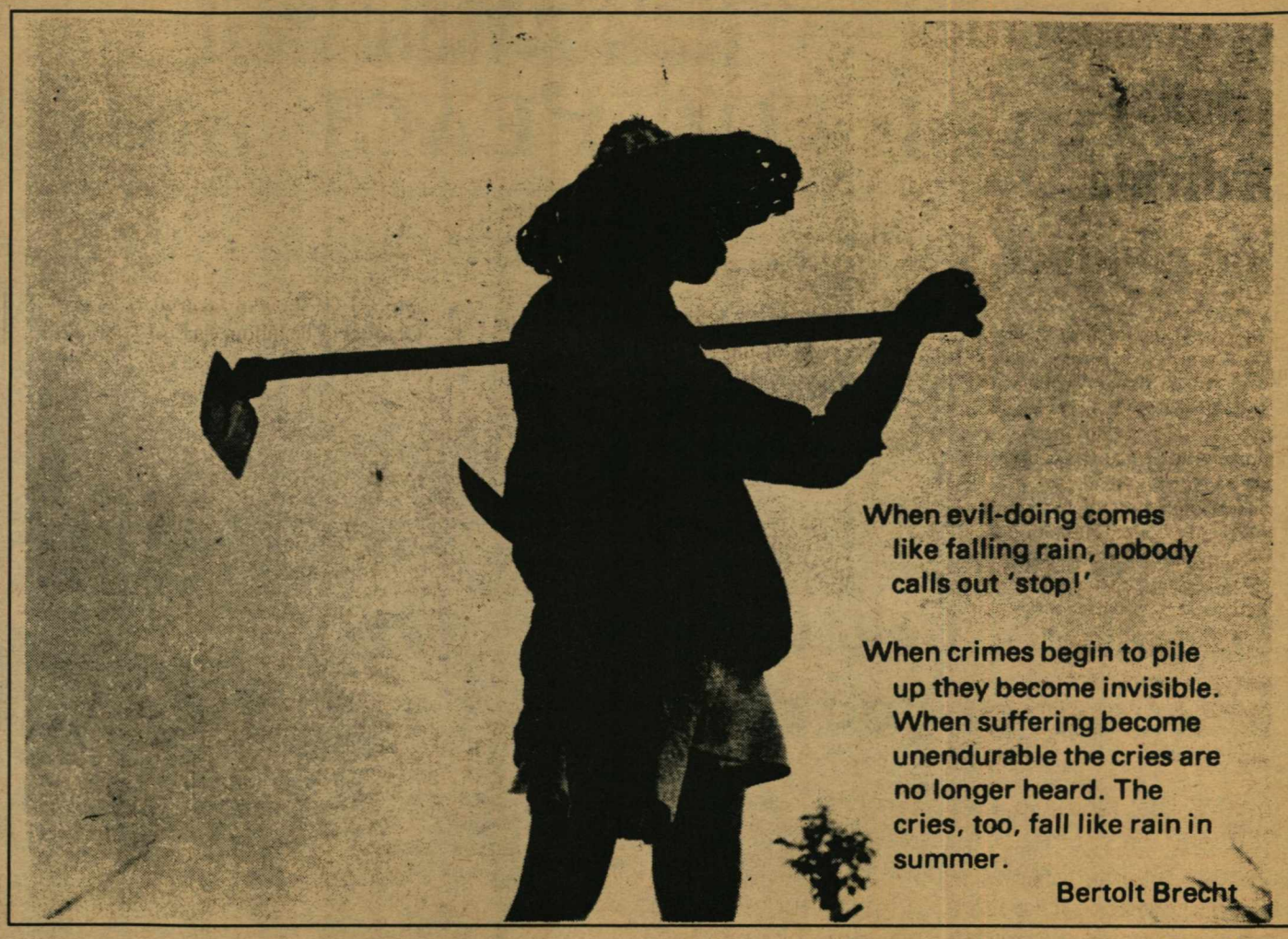
1. Educate yourself:
• Contact the East Timor Alert Network for more information.
• Books with good background on East Timor include *FUNU: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor* (José Ramos Horta, Red Sea Press, 1987)), *Indonesia's Forgotten War* (John G. Taylor, Zed Books, 1991), *The War Against East Timor* (Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, 1984), and *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Noam Chomsky, Black Rose Books, 1979). A new novel set in East Timor, The Redundancy of Courage (Timothy Mo, Chatto & Windus, 1991) has been shortlisted for the prestigious Booker Prize.

2. Educate and organize others:
• Read and circulate "East Timor Update," a monthly news service edited by ETAN.
• Organize a screening for your friends of the video "East Timor: Betrayed but not Beaten" on the war in East Timor, and Canada's shameful role in it.
• Invite an ETAN speaker to attend as meeting of your group, school, union....

3. Lobby the government:
• Sign the ETAN open letter on East Timor, and encourage others to sign also.
• Write to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, your MP, and the external affairs critics of the other parties. Ask them to work for human rights in East Timor; support a ban on Canadian arms sales to Indonesia; link Canadian aid to respect for human rights; and support East Timor's right to self-determination at the United Nations. All can be contacted at: House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6. Postage is free.
• Urge your MP to join Parliamentarians for East Timor. (PET contacts: Svend Robinson— NDP, David Kilgour— Liberal, David MacDonald— Conservative.)
• Lobbying postcards, asking the United Nations to back the call of Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão for peace talks without preconditions, are also available from ETAN.

4. Take action:
• Collect signatures on a petition to free East Timor. Contact ETAN for copies.
• Leaflet and/or protest at your local MP's office if they refuse to take action on East Timor.
• Ask visiting External Affairs officials and public figures to support East Timor. One immediate action they can take is to sign the ETAN open letter — if they refuse, protest against their inaction.
• Expand protests to include vigils, street theatre, and civil disobedience.
• Boycott Canadian companies that help prop up the Indonesian dictatorship: Bata Shoes, General Electric Canada, Inco, and MacMillan Bloedel, to name just a few.

5. Help others take action:
• Make a donation to ETAN's work, and encourage others to do the same. Contact us for information on how you can get a tax deduction for your donation.


When evil-doing comes like falling rain, nobody calls out 'stop!'
When crimes begin to pile up they become invisible. When suffering become unendurable the cries are no longer heard. The cries, too, fall like rain in summer.
Bertolt Brecht

Elaine Briere

6. Get groups you're involved with to take up the issue of East Timor:

Anti-hunger groups and relief agencies can make East Timor an area of concern and push for free access of relief to the **people** of East Timor (rather than the Indonesian authorities). East Timor has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world (25.4%, according to the Third World Guide, compared to 9.7% in Indonesia), and the Indonesian army uses food as a weapon in its war against the Timorese.

Church and religious groups, especially Catholic groups, have a responsibility to stand with the predominantly Catholic Timorese in their struggle for peace and justice. Groups can
• support the call of Bishop Belo of East Timor for a referendum on independence
• support the rights of the Church to intervene on behalf of human rights, by sending letters of solidarity to Bishop Belo and asking Indonesian authorities and church leaders to end their intimidations of the Timorese Church.
• call on Canadian Bishops and religious officials, and on the Pope, to stand in solidarity with the Timorese people and Church.
• raise the issue of Indonesia's genocidal forced birth control programme in East Timor, said to include involuntary sterilization of women, forced abortions, and murder of newborn babies in hospitals.
• investigate ways of sending aid to the suffering through church channels

Human rights groups can include East Timor among their concerns. Amnesty International recently announced plans to focus on Asia, where East Timor and Indonesia are among the group's principal concerns. Canadian advocacy for human rights has the most potential to be effective in countries — like Indonesia — where Canadian aid money plays an important role.

The media in Canada ignores East Timor for the most part. Listeners to CBC Radio's Media File called it one of the two most overlooked stories of 1990. What does get reported often follows the government line without soliciting the other side of the story.
• if you're in the media, cover the situation in East Timor and in Indonesia, and fight for your story with your editor or producer. "Canadian angles" are profuse, and new information is coming out of East Timor every day.
• if not, write letters to the editor or opinion pieces for your local newspaper, call radio and television stations, and ask they give the Timor story the attention it deserves.
• follow developments as they happen by reading "East Timor Update," a monthly ETAN news service. Republish the bulletin in whole or in part, and pass on the information in it to others.

Peace groups should include a focus on ending the war in East Timor, which has claimed the lives of over a third of the Timorese population.
• work for a ban on all weapons sales to Indonesia.
• call for sanctions against Indonesia until they allow self-determination for East Timor. If the "New World Order" holds for Kuwait, how much more should it hold for the genocidal occupation of East Timor?
• demand that the UN charter, which recognizes the right to self-determination for all countries, be applied to East Timor.

Resource centres, libraries and **bookstores** can carry any of the several fine books and videos about East Timor.

Student groups can stand with the young people of East Timor, who have been subjected to a reign of terror for their nonviolent protests against the occupation of their homeland.
• send letters of support to Timorese students, and protest when they are arrested, interrogated, tortured or "disappeared."
• raise funds for a scholarship for a Timorese student at a Canadian university.
• many Candian universities (British Columbia, Simon Fraser, Guelph and Dalhousie foremost among them) are involved in joint programmes with Indonesian universities. Demand that your university follow the lead of the University of Toronto and refuse this co-operation.
• write to map-makers and the Canadian government to demand that East Timor be reinstated on maps printed for classroom use (just as the Israeli-occupied West Bank is marked separately from Israel), as the UN has not recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.
• get East Timor and Indonesia added to the curriculum of geography, politics and other courses. Many resources suitable for classroom use, both at high school and university level, are available: contact ETAN for details.

Ethnic communities: materials on East Timor are available in Portuguese, Chinese and French as well as English. Contact ETAN for details.

Canada & East Timor: a chronology

1965-74

In 1965, General Suarto comes to power in a bloodbath that claims the lives of one million Indonesians and declares his country open to Western investment and business. Canada is among the countries to embrace the new dictator. With the early 1970s opening of a nickel mine by Inco on the island of Sulawesi, Canada becomes a major investor in Indonesia.

1974

April: Military coup in Portugal topples the fascist Caetano-Salazar regime, beginning the process of decolonization in Portugal's overseas colonies. Political parties are formed in East Timor.
October: Indonesia launches Operation Komodo to destabilize East Timor.

1975

August: a short civil war leaves East Timor under the control of the pro-independence Fretilin party, which invites Portugal to return and complete the decolonization process. Portugal refuses.
December 7: Indonesia invades East Timor.
December 9: Kingston area member of parliament Doug Alkenbrack (Conservative) asks why the Canadian government is investing taxpayers' money in a pulp and paper plant in Indonesia "in view of the recent invasion of Portuguese Timor and the apparent corrupt and brutal regime of (Indonesian) President Suharto?" This was the **only** question put forward in the House of Commons on East Timor in ten years.
December 12: The United Nations General Assembly (72 to 9 with 44 abstentions) calls for an immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor. **Canada abstains.**

1976

June: President Suharto visits Canada and receives a $200 million mixed aid package from the government of Pierre Trudeau. It is well known that widespread killings are happening in East Timor.
September: Sources in the Timorese Catholic Church estimate that 100,000 have been killed in the war between Indonesian forces and the Fretilin resistance. Some of the army's ammunition is made by Valcartier Industries of Montréal.

1978

Indonesia completes encirclement operations around Mount Ramelau; Fretilin leader Nicolau Lobato is killed. Aid workers describe massive famine in East Timor as "worse than Biafra." Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia Glen Shortliffe is a member of the first delegation allowed into the country after incendiary bombing of the interior farmlands. Shortliffe recommends the Canadian government follow the U.S. position and **oppose** resolutions at the UN supporting East Timor's right to self-determination.

1979

Relief services allowed into East Timor, with foreign staff limited to four people. Canada donates $200,000 to the Red Cross for work in East Timor.

1980

Canada votes **against** a UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. At the same time Canada "strongly" endorses a UN resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and reaffirming the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, and gives $13 million to help Afghan refugees.

1981

Fretilin reorganizes under the leadership of Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. Indonesia launches Operation Security, forcing villagers to act as a "human fence" for Indonesian soldiers. Red Cross expelled from East Timor.

1982

The UN passes its tenth resolution recognizing East Timor's right to self-determination and calling for humanitarian aid to the Timorese people. **Canada votes against the resolution**, which passes by just four votes.

1983

A temporary cease-fire ends when General Benny Murdani is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian armed forces. Operation Clean Sweep is launched and Murdani says the resistance will be crushed "without mercy." The Center for Defense Information in Washington identifies the death toll in East Timor — now said by the Church to be at least **200,000 killed** since the invasion — the second-highest of the decade, trailing only Pol Pot's Cambodia.
Indonesia East Timor Programme launched in Peterborough, Ont. to expose Canada's complicity in genocidé.

1984

External Affairs hosts an arms bazaar for ten Canadian companies at the Mandarin Hotel in Jakarta. External Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien visits Indonesia and asks officials about killings and arrests in East Timor. "I don't intend to criticize you," he says. "I just want to know the facts.

1985

Amnesty International launches worldwide campaign on East Timor, coordinated in Canada by AI Nova Scotia.

1986

Indonesia starts Operation Eradicate. Thousands more deaths and imprisonments, including the massacre of the entire village of Fo-mono. U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops denounces Indonesia's forced birth-control and sterilization programme for East Timor as tantamount to genocide.
February: External Affairs announces the sale of Pratt and Whitney engines for Indonesia's Bell-100 helicopters. Eight Canadian weapons merchants have production facilities in Indonesia. **Canadian weapons "play an important part in the war in East Timor,"** according to Fretilin representative to the UN José Ramos Horta.
June: Canada participates in Indonesian military air show in Jakarta.
October: The Indonesia East Timor Programme, with help from ACT for Disarmament, the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, and other groups, hosts an Ontario speaking tour for Fretilin's José Ramos Horta.

1987

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja visits the Canadian parliament. Liberal MP Roland de Corneille accuses Indonesia of "genocide" in East Timor. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark says he is satisfied that there are no longer human rights abuses in East Timor — a position directly contrary to that of Amnesty International and other human rights watchdogs.
April: Canadian Ambassador Jack Whittleton lends legitimacy to Indonesian "elections" by accompanying Foreign Minister Mochtar on a campaign swing through East Timor, one of just three ambassadors (East Germany is another) to do so. Mochtar "wins" the election in East Timor, receiving more votes in some areas than there are registered voters.
September: European Parliament votes 164 to 12, with 15 abstentions, to call for Indonesia to leave East Timor.
October: The **East Timor Alert Network** is formed, sponsored by the Canadian Council of Churches. An ETAN representative attends the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, held every August. ETAN has been represented there every year since.

1988

Six Canadian MPs, representing all three parties, visit East Timor as part of a tour promoting trade and investment ties with Indonesia. The MPs note in their report that "human rights did not seem to be a subject of much concern" and that East Timor had good "potential in agribusiness and tourism." Meanwhile, parliamentarians genuinely interested in investigating the human rights situation are barred from the territory.
The Canadian International Development Agency starts "The Canada Fund to the East Timorese." All funds are directed to the Indonesian government which is rapidly replacing the Timorese with Indonesian settlers.
Former Conservative External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald (1979-80) tells a reporter that her department "never considered East Timor important enough" to brief her on it.

1989

International Parliamentarians for East Timor gains supporters in the Canadian parliament. Conservative MP David Kilgour attends the UN Decolonization hearings to speak for the rights of East Timor.
October: Pope John Paul II visits East Timor and calls for Indonesia to "respect the rights which make us human." Indonesian police attack youths protesting for independence, arresting and torturing 40, according to the Bishop of East Timor. Meanwhile, over 100 people attend an international conference on East Timor in Ottawa and call on the Canadian government to take action to promote human rights in East Timor. External Affairs representatives attend unofficially, but the government ignores the call. Days later, Canada takes part in the U.S.-led PACEX naval war games off the Soviet coast, along with other U.S. allies — including Indonesia.

1990

Timorese youths in the capital, Dili, and other cities, begin a nonviolent uprising against Indonesian civil and military authorities. A new reign of terror begins, including patrols by death squads composed of off-duty soldiers. Some student leaders appeal to External Affairs Minister Clark for help, but receive no response. Timorese Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximines Belo writes in a letter smuggled out of the country that he fears he will meet the fate of murdered Archbishop of El Salvador Oscar Romero, but repeats his call for the UN to sponsor a referendum on independence for East Timor.

1991

A new Indonesian military offensive aims at capturing resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. General Benny Murdani, now Defence Minister, promises again to "crush" all opposition. Resistance forces survive the onslaught and are still engaged in fighting.
February: The new Committee Against War in the Gulf is the first Indonesian group to publicly call for a referendum on independence for East Timor. At their first demonstration, members of the group are attacked by police.
March: UN secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar tells a Parliamentarians for East Timor delegation that East Timor has the same right to self-determination as Namibia and other countries.
September: Reports from East Timor say the military terror campaign against the indigenous population is at its highest peak yet, in preparation for an expected visit of Portuguese parliamentarians to investigate the human rights situation, under UN auspices. External Affairs Minister Barbara MacDougall rejects a call in parliament for Canada to accord the same respect to the Timor situation that it has to Kuwait.
The International Peace Bureau, meeting in Toronto for its 1991 assembly, supports an international campaign to back Xanana's call for peace talks without preconditions under UN auspices, and demands a ban on all weapons sales to Indonesia.
October: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney says Canadian aid will be tied to respect for human rights in the future. Meanwhile, CIDA figures show Canada gave $266.5 million in aid to Indonesia in the five-year period 1984-89, making Indonesia the top non-Commonwealth recipient of Canadian aid dollars. More than 300 Canadian companies invest millions of dollars more in the corrupt Indonesian economy.

EAST TIMOR UPDATE

Number 5 — November 1991

In December 1975, just ten days after declaring its independence from Portugal, the tiny southeast Asian coutnry of East Timor was invaded by its neighbour Indonesia. In the decade-and-ahalf since, 250,000 people — over a third of the indigenous Timorese population — have been killed. Genocide and masive human rights violations — everything from rape to indiscriminate killings to forced abortions — go on to this day. But so does the struggle for freedom of the East Timorese people. It is largely the support of countries like Canada that allows Indonesia to maintain its occupation.

East Timor Update *is a monthly news service edited in Toronto by the East Timor Alert Network.. Reprinting is encouraged, but please credir East Timor Update. Contact the Network for more information:*

National/West: *104—2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2.*

Toronto: *PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1.*

Ottawa: *2760 Caroset Cres. #511, Ottawa Ont., K1T 2N2*

Eastern Ontario: *217 Glengarry Rd., Kinston Ont., K7M 3J6.*

Western Ontario: *Dr Peter Eglin, Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo Ont., N2L 3C5.*

Québec: *1375 Sherwood Cres., Town of Mt. Royal, Que., H3R 3C8.*

Fear of reprisals after MP mission

"Our situation has worsened in the past few weeks," writes East Timor's Bishop, Carlos Felipe Ximines Belo in a letter recently received by a Portuguese bishop. "As the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation nears, the [Indonesians] have once again stared a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom...."

Belo's voice is just one of those raised in appeal to the world to watch East Timor during — and especially after — the planned visit of 13 Portuguese members of parliament to their former Timor colony. The visit has been planned under United Nations auspices for early November, but may be delayed further.

The East Timor Alert Network joined other solidarity organizations from Japan, Australia, France, Portugal, the Netherlands and England in an appeal issued on October 14 for non-government organizations to remain watchful through the MPs' visit and afterwards. The ten solidarity groups, "while anxiously hoping for the visit to take place, are apprehensive about a wave of repression that will occur afterwards," the appeal said.

Since August:

- additional contingents of troops from Indonesia have been stationed in all parts of East Timor, often in civilian dress;
- meetings have been held by the military to intimidate the population and force them to demonstrate for integration with Indonesia and display Indonesian flags during the visit;
- Timorese para-military units have been formed for intimidation and to punish dissidents, in order to spread fear among the population;
- other groups have been preparing to provoke confrontation and confusion during the visit
- there have been more detentions and "disappearances";
- students and Timorese government officials thought to sympathize with the resistance have been sent away from East Timor, in order to defuse opposition.

Both Bishop Belo and resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão have called for a UN peacekeeping force to be stationed in East Timor during the visit and for several months after. Xanana has repeatedly called for a cease-fire and peace talks without preconditions, under the auspices of the UN.

The call for peacekeeping forces has been echoed by exiled leaders of three Timorese splinter parties who in 1975 called on Indonesia to annex East Timor. The leaders of Apodeti, KOTA and Trabalhista said that NATO should provide the troops if the UN refused, since Portugal is a NATO member.

The East Timor solidarity groups fear that guarantees in the agreement that allows the MPs' visit are insufficient, "in particular with regard to security, total liberty of movement and contacts, and safeguards that no reprisals will be taken against the population in the wake of the visit... these principles are already being violated."

Nineteen Catholic bishops from around the world also called for measures to safeguard the Timorese people from reprisals in connection with the MPs' visit. The bishops wrote to UN secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar "to express our grave concern for the safety of the people of East Timor" and suggest steps that could be taken to enforce Indonesia's promise not to punish any Timorese for speaking to the MPs.

The mission is to be led by Angelo Correia of Portugal's governing Social Democratic Party, who served in the Portuguese army in East Timor from 1969 to 1971 and speaks Tétun, the most widespread indigenous Timorese language. Representatives of the Socialist, Communist, Christian Democratic and Green parties are also among the delegation.

Doubts about the mission resurfaced when the Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalão, said the MPs would be allowed to speak only to Indonesian government officials — a direct violation of the visit agreement. "The Portuguese should be objective," Carrascalão said. "When they have arrived here, they should not talk to any East Timorese anywhere at their own will.... None of the delegation will be allowed to leave the group and talk to people."

Another hitch, one that may derail the long-awaited MPs' visit altogether, is Indonesian insistence on a veto over all journalists invited along. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, in New York campaigning for the job of UN secretary general, first tried to have two Portuguese journalists removed, then withdrew his objections to all but one, Australian freelancer Jill Jolliffe. Jolliffe, author of two books on East Timor whose articles have appeared in papers around the world, including the Globe and Mail, is "not a journalist anymore but a crusader for Fretilin [the major party in the Timorese resistance]," Alatas said. Part of the animosity Indonesian officials feel for Jolliffe stems from her key role in spreading the truth about five Australian journalists who were killed by invading Indonesian troops at Balibó, East Timor, in 1975.

According to the terms of reference agreed to at the UN, each side would "communicate" a list of journalists to the other. There is no provision for Indonesia to block any names.

Preparations for the visit have been suspended pending settlement of the dispute over Jolliffe, with Portugal vowing not to back down.

Senate supports Timor

The U.S. Senate in September joined the House of Representatives in passing a Sense of the Congress resolution that called on President George Bush to reverse his support for Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. "The President should urge the government of Indonesia to take action to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor" and allow free access to international human rights and relief organizations, the motion said. It marks the first time the U.S. Congress has taken a stand on the Timor question.

Ramos Horta back

Former Fretilin representative to the United Nations, José Ramos Horta, has been apointed external representative for CNRM (the armed resistance in East Timor). Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão says he "is mandated to represent the CNRM in all matters in the field of diplomacy." Ramos Horta is author of *FUNU: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor* (available from ETAN).